

# JOURNAL OF FREEDOM.

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RALEIGH, N. C.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1865.

### AGENTS FOR THE JOURNAL.

GEORGE W. PRICE is the authorized agent of the Journal for Newberry and vicinity to receive subscriptions and advertisements.

REV. A. BASS is an authorized agent of the Journal, and is empowered to receive subscriptions and advertisements in all parts of the State.

JOHN C. ROBERT is the authorized agent of the Journal for Edenton and vicinity, and will receive subscriptions and advertisements.

MRS. S. TURNER is the authorized agent of the Journal at Beaufort, and will receive subscriptions and advertisements in that vicinity.

### ANNOUNCEMENT.

The JOURNAL OF FREEDOM with this number completes the first month of its existence, and has demonstrated, beyond doubt, the fact that an Equal Rights newspaper, properly conducted, can be sustained in the State of North Carolina. The expense of publication is greater than at the North, and consequently subscription and advertising rates are higher. With this exception the JOURNAL will soon be on the same footing with other papers of the same class. We are so sanguine of success, that we have already commenced negotiations for a new and complete printing office. In the meantime our friends must continue their efforts in our behalf.

### DISSOLUTION OF COPARTNERSHIP.

Mr. J. Q. A. CRANE has withdrawn from the JOURNAL OF FREEDOM, and it will be conducted after this number by Mr. E. P. BROOKS alone, as editor and sole proprietor. We wish Mr. CRANE God-speed in any new business connections he may assume.

### THE PROGRESS OF FREEDOM.

Provisional Governor SHARKEY, of Mississippi, has issued a proclamation which recognizes the natural sequence of the abolition of slavery in his State, and is in accordance with the views expressed in the following extract from a letter of his to Col. THOMAS, Chief of the Freedmen's Bureau in that District:

"I have no hesitation in stating to you that, as a necessary result from the action of the convention, in my opinion the freedmen can now sue and be sued in any court in the State; and, as an incident to their right to protection of person and property, which are fully guaranteed by the amended constitution, that they are competent to testify in any court of justice. Their rights, I think, are fully established by the convention which abolishes the whole system."

The logic of the Governor's letter is most assuredly sound. The abrogation of any social system should carry with it into oblivion all the laws which may have been enacted to sustain it. Slavery was abolished at the request of a majority of the people of the United States, which majority considered it a great evil, and their will is not fully obeyed unless the adjuncts of the evil are swept away with it. To proclaim that any class of men are free, merely because they are no longer considered as property, but are held under legal surveillance the same as when they were treated as chattles, is, in our opinion, the promulgation of a lie. Gov. Sharkey evidently thinks the same, and many other of the reasoning statesmen of the South would be included in the category with him if they had the moral courage to publicly announce their opinions.

Among the few who have been honest enough to publish their true sentiments on this question is Judge Cooper, of Texas, who, in a recent decision, admitted the inevitable logic of the emancipation proclamation. In his charge to the jury, he maintained and laid down as absolute law, that now, in any court in the United States, negroes were "the same as white men." This decision is not only equity, but law. The constitution and status of Texas are the same in letter now as they were when slavery was a thing of life; but an authority higher than that of any one State, has rendered the whole slave code null and void.

With the constitutional amendment ratified, the proclamations of President Lincoln supported, and the admission of colored men into all courts of the United States as witnesses, it is fair to claim that a principle has been established. But when such men as Sharkey and Cooper acknowledge their faith in such a principle, it is fair to claim that freedom is progressing and has accomplished a great stride towards permanent predominance. Further, it sounds like making assurance doubly sure to hear the President, in his official capacity, advising South Carolina to admit colored testimony into her courts. "But the colored man's testimony must be taken for what it was worth by those who examine him and the jury who hear it." So says Andrew Johnson, so must all of his agents say, and every true man rejoices at this evidence of the progress of freedom.

### PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.

In his speech at Milwaukee the other day Senator Doolittle said that in a recent conversation with President Johnson, the latter declared to him his wish that the right of suffrage might be extended to such colored citizens of the South as have performed military service, and to such as have for a long time been heads of families and supported them by their own industry, and who have demonstrated clearly their intellectual fitness to exercise the right.

The above paragraph is floating about in the sea of newspaperdom, and we have not seen it contradicted. We give it for what it is worth, sincerely hoping it to be true. We know that at one time President Johnson expressed regret, that during his reign as military Governor in Tennessee, he had not inaugurated a limited system of manhood suffrage. Gov. Brownlow, as much a creature of President Johnson's creation as anything else, admits that the "time will come when it will be proper and right." Gov. SHARKEY is leaning sensibly towards the recognition of the rights of Freedmen in courts, and we know that President Johnson once said, "SHARKEY is the best man I've got yet." A writer addressing the colored men of the District of Columbia, states that privately the President is favorable to suffrage on a basis of intelligence; but that his States Rights Principles will not allow him to interfere directly in its behalf.

### PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S SPEECH.

In our issue to-day will be found President Johnson's address to a colored regiment. It will prove a stumbling-block to many of the would-be "Union men" of the South who have endorsed his policy, thinking that he entertained pro-slavery views and would act pro-southerly. Instead of that, however, we find that he addresses a crowd of colored men, calling them "fellow-citizens," and assures them that the United States government is not exclusively for the benefit of white men, but that the United States is their country and in it they will be protected. They are not to be banished from it, nor oppressed within it. They take their places as "social integers," in a system that is thoroughly democratic, under institutions which accord to every man the highest and best opportunities, as members of a national family in which neither wealth, birth nor color is the basis of advancement, but where every man is measured by merit. Impressing upon them these views, he advises them to go home resolved by the manner in which they shall advance the industries and increase the resources of the country, to prove themselves entitled to its best rewards.

President Johnson is an honest man and loves republican principles, and it is not surprising to hear such words from his lips, particularly after the assurance we have lately had that if he was a private citizen in Tennessee, he would advocate negro suffrage on a basis of military service and intelligence.

### Gen. Sherman's Views—The Freedmen Must be Protected.

"I hold," said a Wisconsin democrat in Gen. Sherman's presence, "that the Southern States have never been out of the Union, but if they are States, the Federal Government has no more business to interfere in Mississippi or South Carolina than in Wisconsin. I would withdraw all federal troops from those States; I would admit their representatives in Congress, and I would leave them to make their own laws and regulations as other States do." "No, no," here quickly interposed Gen. Sherman, with a shake of his head, "that would not do. The Government must protect the freedmen. It is bound to do that. I have a great deal of confidence in the masses of the Southern people; I don't believe, as a general thing, there would be a disposition to visit personal violence on the negroes, but there would be individual cases of outrage, and their legislation would lean against them."

A mulatto woman, who claims to be the daughter of the rebel Gen. Magruder, and who is asserted to be his offspring by many who are knowing to the facts, was arrested in Covington and put in the guard house of the Thirteenth U. S. Colored Artillery over night, last week, for improper conduct. Magruder is in New York, and should be permitted to look after his wandering child.

Gen. Geary has published a letter in approval of the Pennsylvania Republican platform and candidates, in which he says of the vexed question: "All men must be made equal before the law, so far as regards the protection of life, property, and the pursuit of happiness, leaving the adjustment of the suffrage to the people of the several States, who should be left perfectly free to determine the question in their own way."

### VOICES OF THE COLORED MEN—THE FREEDMEN'S ADDRESS, &c.

The report of the Committee of the Constitutional Convention, to which was referred the Address of the Freedmen, will be found in this issue. What the interested parties think of it may be inferred from the following communication, written by one of our most intelligent colored citizens. As regards other points mentioned in the communication, they deserve attention, not only on account of the truth of the statements, but because of the strength and clearness of the arguments. As the first communication that we have yet received from any of our colored friends, we hail it as well worthy of a place in the JOURNAL.

EDITOR JOURNAL OF FREEDOM:—In looking over the report of the committee which was appointed by the white Convention on the Address offered to them by our people, it seems to me that that committee has refused to take any responsibility and have not taken the matter in hand at all. Thus it seems apparent that we, the colored people, are to be left alone as we now are. It seems that this committee have left us in an almost despairing condition. We appealed to them, stating our situation, and asking conventional provision whereby our race could live, but they have done nothing for us.

It seems that some of us and most of us are ignorant. We admit that, and we are refused the elective franchise en masse on that account. The Northern States give the colored man privileges on account of education, with Massachusetts at the lead. We are refused conventional provision on account of our being poor and indolent. The greater portion of us in the State are poor, very poor, but some of us may own twenty-five, fifty or a hundred acres of land, and if we are not allowed rights to protect our property, what is the condition we are left in? The Northern States allow the colored man to vote on account of property, with New York at the lead. We are denied conventional provision on account of the negroes blood. Ohio's law gives to the negro, or rather to those who have the misfortune to be two-thirds white, all rights the same as any one or anybody, and we do not believe that they have ruled or ruined the State.

Our new relations, in our judgment, will not ruin the country; that is, if, in our destitute condition, we are to have proper protection, proper rights, and the proper statesmanship, which will look our present and future condition and what we are capable of face to face. It is also construed that we will not work, and when we make a bargain to work we will not keep it. Look at the thousands of us who have been raised up in the back woods who have never seen a city, or the capital, or the court house of the county in which they were reared, and some who never saw a railroad car and engine. They are now free to go where they choose, according to the proclamation of President Lincoln and the platform laid by President Johnson on which the Southern States, late in rebellion, will be admitted back into the Union and under the flag and constitution of the United States. Can it be reasonably expected of them, knowing that they are free, that they will remain fast where they are without first satisfying the plain and simple curiosity to see all these things? The colored man knows he has and is obliged to work. He has got to get his living, and we do venture to speak for all that fair compensation will have all at work. The colored man cannot now remain as he is in his ignorant condition. Look around us! See the colored boys and girls going to school; yea the grown men and women desiring to become intelligent; some striving to make money to become property holders, and every one, according to his or her means of ability, striving to become a man of intelligence; to be worth whatever he can to the community. Look at this and then say are they not men as other men, according to the circumstances under which they have labored these hundreds of years.

Some talk, too, of emigration and colonization, and driving us away to some remote corner of the continent. It is not our purpose to emigrate or colonize, and we do not want to be driven away; but if we have to emigrate it shall be beyond the limits of the United States. If it is our destiny to be colonized or driven away, the English flag is the banner we expect to hail and spend our days under the hand of Old John Bull; but under the eye of an All-wise Providence,

who always has the destiny of nations under supervision and care. We trust that in this country and in this State we may live, and in this country and in this State we may die; not as rogues, not as convicts, not as vagabonds, but as men of intelligence, men of industry and men worthy of protection and rights, and men capable of exercising judgment to the interest of the State and United States, and live and die to the honor and good of the Old North State.

To the colored race all over the State: Be patient, be economizing, be frugal, be upright, be honest, be truthful, stand to your bargains, if you make any; strive to be intelligent, and in that let us spare no pains, and if we cannot get our protection and rights, we will get the name of good and quiet citizens, and then our rights will come to us and will no longer be a question of opposition. These discussions in the legislative halls of and about the colored man is what we want should die out, and it will die out when the rights are gained. We appeal to these bodies inasmuch as we are dependent on them. We appeal to an All-wise God to counsel their proceedings and do nothing which would oppress or keep us in the back-ground.

### A COLORED MAN OF RALEIGH.

[We have thought proper to publish the above as it was handed to us, without changing it, except as regards punctuation.]

### President Johnson's Speech to the Colored

On the occasion of the return of the first regiment of District of Columbia colored troops, they were paraded in front of the President's house in Washington, and he addressed them as follows:

MY FRIENDS: My object in presenting myself before you on this occasion is simply to thank you, members of one of the colored regiments which have been in the service of the country to sustain and carry its banner and its laws triumphantly in every part of this broad land. I appear before you on the present occasion merely to tender you my thanks for the compliment you have paid me on your return home, to again be associated with your friends and your relations, and those you hold most sacred and dear. I have but little to say. It being unusual in this Government and in most of the other governments to have colored troops engaged in their cause, you have gone forth as events have shown, and served with patience and endurance in the cause of your country. This is your country as well as anybody else's country. [Cheers.] This is the country in which you expect to live, and in which you should expect to do something by your example in civil life, as you have done in the field. This country is founded upon the principles of equality; and at the same time the standard by which persons are to be estimated is according to their merit and their worth. And you have observed, no doubt, that for him who does his duty faithfully and honestly, there is always a just public judgment that will appreciate and measure out to him his proper reward. I know that there is much well calculated in this Government, and since the late rebellion commenced, to excite the white against the black, and the black against the white man. These are things that you should all understand, and at the same time prepare yourselves for what is before you. Upon the return of peace and the surrender of the enemies of the country, it should be the duty of every patriot and every one who calls himself a Christian to remember that with a termination of the war his resentments should cease—that angry feelings should subside, and that every man should become calm and tranquil, and be prepared for what is before him.

There is another part of your mission. You have been engaged in the effort to sustain your country in the past, but the future is more important to you than the period in which you have just been engaged. One great question has been settled in this Government, and that is the question of slavery. The institution of slavery made war upon the United States, and the United States has lifted its strong arms in vindication of the Government and of free government, and in lifting that arm and appealing to the God of battles, it was decided that the institution of slavery must go down. [Cheers.] This has been done, and the Goddess of Liberty, in bearing witness over many of our battle-fields since the struggle commenced, has made her loftiest flight and proclaimed that true liberty has been established upon a more permanent and enduring basis than heretofore. [Applause.] But this is not all; and as you have paid me the compliment to call upon me, I shall take the privilege of saying one or two words as I am before you.

Now, when the sword is returned to its scabbard, when your arms are reversed, and when the olive-branch of peace is extended, resentment and revenge should subside. Then what is to follow? You do understand, no doubt, and if you do not you cannot understand, and too soon—that simple liberty does not mean the privilege of going into the battle-field, or into the service of the country as a soldier. It means other things as well; and now

when you have laid down your arms there are other objects of equal importance before you—now that the Government has triumphantly passed through this mighty rebellion, after the most gigantic battles the world ever saw.

The problem is before you, and it is best that you should understand it, and I therefore speak simply and plainly. Will you now, when you have retired from the army of the United States and taken the position of a citizen—when you have returned to the avocations of peace—will you give evidence to the world that you are capable and competent to govern yourselves? This is what you will have to do.

Liberty is not a mere idea, a mere vagary; when you come to examine this question of liberty, you should not be mistaken in a mere idea for the reality. It does not consist in idleness. Liberty does not consist in being worthless. Liberty does not consist in doing in all things as we please; and there can be no liberty without law. In a government of freedom and of liberty there must be law, and there must be obedience and submission to the law, without regard to color. [Cheers.] Liberty—and may I not call you my countrymen?—liberty consists in the glorious privilege of freedom—consists in the glorious privilege of work—of pursuing the ordinary avocations of peace with energy, with industry, and with economy; and that being done, all those who have been industrious and economical are permitted to appropriate and enjoy the products of their own labor. [Cheers.] This is one of the great blessings of freedom; and hence we might ask the question and answer it by stating that liberty means freedom to work and enjoy the products of your own labor.

You will soon be mustered out of the ranks. It is for you to establish the great fact that you are fit and qualified to be free. Hence, freedom is not a mere idea, but it is something that exists in fact. Freedom is not simply the privilege to live in idleness. Liberty does not mean simply to resort to the low saloons and other places of disreputable character. Freedom and liberty do not mean that the people ought to live in licentiousness, but liberty means simply to be industrious, to be virtuous, to be upright in all our dealings and relations with men; and to those now before me, members of the first regiment of colored volunteers from the District of Columbia, and the capital of the United States, I have to say, that a great deal depends upon yourselves; you must give evidence that you are competent for the rights that the Government has guaranteed to you.

Hence, each and all of you must be measured according to his merit. If one man is more meritorious than the other, they cannot be equals, and he is the most exalted that is the most meritorious, without regard to color; and the idea of having a law passed in the morning that will make a white man a black man before night and a black man a white man before day is absurd. That is not the standard; it is your own conduct; it is your own merit; it is the development of your own talents and of your own intellectual and moral qualities.

Let this, then, be your course; adopt systems of morality; abstain from all licentiousness; and let me say one thing here, for I am going to talk plainly. I have lived in a Southern State all my life, and know what has too often been the case. There is one thing you should esteem higher and more supreme than almost all others, and that is the solemn contract with all the penalties in the association of married life. Men and women should abstain from those qualities and habits that too frequently follow a war. Inculcate among your children and among your associates, notwithstanding you are just back from the army of the United States, that virtue, that merit, that intelligence are the standards to be observed, and those which you are determined to maintain during your future lives. [Cheers.] He that is most meritorious and virtuous, intellectual and well informed, must stand highest, without regard to color. It is the very basis upon which Heaven itself rests—each individual takes his degree in the sublimer and more exalted regions in proportion to his merits and his virtue.

Then I shall say to you on this occasion, in returning to your homes and firesides, after feeling conscious and proud of having faithfully done your duty, return with the determination that you will perform your duty in the future as you have performed it in the past. Abstain from all those bickerings and jealousies and revengeful feelings which too often spring up between different races.

There is a great problem before us, and I may as well allude to it here in this connection, and that is, whether this race can be incorporated and mixed with the people of the United States—to be made a harmonious and permanent ingredient in the population. This is a problem not yet settled, but we are in the right line to do so. Slavery raised its head against the government, and the government raised its strong arm and struck it to the ground; hence, that part of the problem is settled. The institution of slavery is to be solved, and that is, can four millions of people, reared as they have been, with all their prejudices of the whites—can they take their places in the community, and be made to work harmoniously and congruously in our system? This is a problem to be considered. Are the digestive powers of the American government sufficient to receive this element

in a new shape, and digest it and make it work healthfully upon the system that has incorporated it?

This is the question to be determined. Let us make the experiment, and make it in good faith. If that cannot be done, there is another problem that is before us. If we have to become a separate and distinct people (although I trust that the system can be made to work harmoniously, and that the great problem will be settled without going any further), if it should be so that the two races cannot agree and live in peace and prosperity, and the laws of Providence require that they should be separated—in that event, looking to the far-distant future, and trusting in God that it may never come—if it should come, Providence, that works mysteriously, but unerringly and certainly, will point out the way, and the mode, and the manner by which these people are to be separated, and they are to be taken to their land of inheritance and promise, for such a one is before them. Hence, we are making the experiment.

Hence, let me again impress upon you the importance of controlling your passions, developing your intellect, and of applying your physical powers to the industrial interests of the country; and that is the true process by which this question can be settled. Be patient, persevering and forbearing, and you will solve this problem. Make for yourselves a reputation in this cause as you have won for yourselves a reputation in the cause in which you have been engaged. In speaking to the members of this regiment I want them to understand that, so far as I am concerned, I do not assume or pretend that I am stronger than the laws or course of nature, or that I am wiser than Providence itself. It is our duty to try and discover what these great laws are which are at the foundation of all things, and, having discovered what they are, conform our action and our conduct to them and to the will of God, who ruleth all things. He holds the destinies of nations in the palm of His hand, and He will solve the questions and rescue these people from the difficulties that have so long surrounded them. Then let us be patient, industrious and persevering. Let us develop our intellectual and moral wealth.

I trust what I have said may be understood and appreciated. Go to your homes and lead peaceful, prosperous and happy lives, in peace with all men. Give utterance to no word that would cause dissensions, but do that which will be creditable to yourselves and to your country. To the officers who have led and so nobly commanded you in the field I also return my thanks for the compliment you and they have conferred upon me.

### WHAT IS REQUIRED OF THE SOUTH.—Judge

W. M. Byrd of Alabama, has just returned from Washington, where he had an interview with President Johnson. In a letter to the Mobile News he tells the people of his State what is expected of them. He says:

From what I heard at Washington, and from all sources, I will state that it is expected of the South that she will:

- 1st. Declare the African race free by the organic law of each State.
- 2d. That each State will secure and guarantee by her Constitution civil rights to the freedmen; political rights, such as suffrage, sitting on juries, &c., are not expected to be conferred on them at this time; these are matters to be left to the discretion of the several States.

But the freedom of the African race and the guaranty of their civil rights are pre-requisites to the reconstruction of State governments and their readmission to the Union.

The question, then, is narrowed down to this: Will we make a constitutional declaration of the freedom of the African race and a guaranty of their civil rights, or remain indefinitely under a military government?

There is a plain alternative, plainly put, in the concluding paragraph of the Judge's letter. He says that the negroes must be protected in the courts or military rule will be indefinitely prolonged in the South.

NEGRO EQUALITY.—A colored student has been admitted to Harvard College, and a negro was recently impaneled as a juror in Brooklyn. Legitimate results of Republican rule.—Democratic Era.

Any person who travels in the South will find a large proportion of the freed men and women of mixed blood. There are probably in this country more than a million mulattoes. These are illegitimate results of Democratic rule.

THE NEGROES AT ALEXANDRIA.—Perhaps in a few places have the colored race afforded by their industry and thrift more satisfaction to their well-wishers than in Alexandria. Here they have, out of their wages, within the past four years, built about twelve hundred dwellings, on leased lots mostly, and contributed, it is said, about five thousand dollars toward religious and educational establishments, and are now liberally contributing to support new enterprises of like character. They have, as we learn from old citizens of Alexandria, conducted themselves, as a class, with marked sobriety and good order. They are about eight thousand in number.